

Views on Labor

DRAWER 4 VOCATIONS

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Abraham Lincoln's Vocations

Views on Labor

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.

March 18, 1864.—LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 18, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe:

Edward P. Brooks, first lieutenant, Sixth Wisconsin, is a prisoner of war at Richmond. I desire that, if practicable, his special release be effected for a rebel prisoner of same rank. Have you one to send, and can you arrange for it at once?

A. LINCOLN.

March 18, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1864.

GOVERNOR MURPHY, Little Rock, Arkansas:

Yours of yesterday received and thanks for it. Send further returns when you receive them. Will do my best to protect people and new State government, but can act with no better intentions than have always done. Tell General Steele I have Randolph's pardon, and will send by mail if he says so.

A. LINCOLN.

March 19, 1864.—TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 19, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, Fort Monroe, Virginia:

Please find a captain among the rebel prisoners in your charge, and exchange for Captain T. Ten Eyck, of Eighteenth United States Infantry, now a prisoner at Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

March 21, 1864.—REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

Gentlemen of the Committee: The honorary membership in your association, as generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuation of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. Partly to show that this view has not escaped my atten-

tion, and partly that I cannot better express myself, I read a passage from the message to Congress in December, 1861 :

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor*, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers, or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself,

then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

The views then expressed remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudice, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

March 23, 1864.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH GENERAL C. SCHURZ.

(Private.)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHURZ.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, March 23, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL SCHURZ.

My dear Sir: The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me

LINCOLN, THE WORKINGMAN

J. S. Clarkson's Address Prepared for Lincoln's Birthday.

Lincoln's Greatness Gained in the Academy of Actual Labor.

In Working With His Own Hands He "Learned the Freemasonry of Human Feeling."

How the Republican Party Has Stood the Sufficient Defender of Liberty.

It Has Made American Labor the Best Paid in the World.

Now It Will Foster and Encourage Profit-Sharing, Co-Operation and Industrial Capitalization.

LINCOLN THE GREAT WORKINGMAN.

Mr. J. S. Clarkson, of the Republican National Committee, was invited to address the Republican State League of Ohio, at Columbus, on the 12th inst., the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Clarkson had prepared something in which he dealt with Mr. Lincoln from a new standpoint, but was prevented by illness from going to the banquet. Below is what he intended to say, as it appeared in the *National Tribune*:

It has always seemed to me that the state of Ohio is the most favorable ground in America for liberal speech. It is the typical American state. It is of the north, and yet near the south. It is neither east nor west. The representative American, to-day nearest the typical American of the future, is the citizen of Ohio. Here on this middle ground, where the four great subdivisions of the republic meet, is good counsel ground for American thought and discussion. Here is neither eastern narrowness nor western prejudice. Here is best represented in feeling the future relations between the north and the south. In schools, in business achievements, in social life, in all the larger tokens of civilization, in loyalty to the union, in liberality to all people, in courage of opinion, in courage of action, the state of Ohio and its people are always willing to hear any good cause, and to give intelligent judgment upon any proposition for the good of the republic.

Speaking to the gallant Republicans of Ohio on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, I would not talk of him as the great ruler whose serene and lofty fame has become a cherished possession of that wider world which now runs wherever human liberty is known. Indeed, I would speak of him as the greatest of American workingmen. I would turn to the seamy side of his life, to his boyhood, when, working with his own hands, he learned in poverty that freemasonry of human feeling which is never otherwise acquired. I would turn to the days when, face to face with want and hardship, his own heart touched the cross of human suffering, never after to lose its sympathy with sorrow nor to

be tempted to make all labor either slave labor or else paid in slave's wages. McDuffie in speeches in congress always said that Northern white labor would in the end be coerced to the same wages and the same condition as the southern black slaves. For fifty years this was the purpose of the Democratic party; and McDuffie in his message as governor of South Carolina in 1845 declared the labor element, "bleached or unbleached, the dangerous element in the body politic." The result of fifty years of Democratic effort for free trade was the appeal of the south to rebellion, the last resort to retain slave labor. President Lincoln, who had watched the development of the southern purpose, clearly understood it all, and in his inaugural message in 1861 characterized "the rebellion as the result of an effort to place capital above labor in the structure of the government." The north, true to human liberty and to free labor, rallied to his defense, and the first conspiracy against workingmen of America failed signally before the eyes of the world, stricken down by the faithful hand of a workingman occupying the highest office in the land.

Leaders of public thought and students of public affairs in this new generation, which does not know Abraham Lincoln as the generation of the war time knew him, may find illumination for many dark places now in going nearer the plain people. All the power the Republican party has ever gained, all the renown it has ever won in service to the republic and the cause of universal freedom, it sought and found in the wisdom of the millions who, like Lincoln, learned the sufficient knowledge through their own suffering and trials. It is well enough to recall on this birthday of the great commoner, of this greatest of American workingmen, that in his Americanism he knew nothing of aristocracy, and in his Republicanism nothing but human sympathy. The Republican party was born without an aristocracy. The Republican party is plebeian, not patrician. The Republican party to-day is typified in the mechanic or the farmer, as the Republican party during the war was the Union soldier. The average American of this time, as then, is not the professional man, nor the banker, nor the rich man. If an artist were commissioned to make a statue of the typical American in this century he would make it a Republican workingman. Therefore the Republican party is a party of the people. It is the people. Wherever it has kept near its own heart, which has always been the heart of labor, it has been invincible. When it has strayed from it, it has lost.

What is the lesson of Lincoln's life and the suggestion of Lincoln's birthday? It is to take the Republican party nearer than ever to the people. I say frankly that the greatest work and most solemn duty resting upon the Republican party is first and always to address itself to meeting any danger menacing or any real grievance existing among the people, the laborers of the farm and shop. The greatness of Lincoln's career was in resisting and defeating the culmination of the first great conspiracy against American labor, for free trade in the United States has never been anything but a plot against the American workingman. Slavery as it existed in this republic was not simply a conspiracy against the negro because he was black; it was because he was a workingman. The South wanted slavery, not to enslave the negro, but to get his labor as nearly for nothing as possible, and to protect the ruling white class from being compelled to labor themselves. The struggle in this country has always been, in the South for cheap labor, in the North for free and well-paid labor. McDuffie, of South Carolina, the greatest of all American free traders, past or present, who wielded the power of his party in congress from 1823 to 1853, in assailing protection always did so on the bold public ground of protesting against "compelling the South with slave labor costing 25 cents a day to compete with free labor in the North at \$1 a day." He and all Southern white leaders then boldly said that labor was the work of a slave alone, and for fifty years the Democratic party in the United States at-

tempted to make all labor either slave labor or else paid in slave's wages. McDuffie in speeches in congress always said that Northern white labor would in the end be coerced to the same wages and the same condition as the southern black slaves. For fifty years this was the purpose of the Democratic party; and McDuffie in his message as governor of South Carolina in 1845 declared the labor element, "bleached or unbleached, the dangerous element in the body politic." The result of fifty years of Democratic effort for free trade was the appeal of the south to rebellion, the last resort to retain slave labor. President Lincoln, who had watched the development of the southern purpose, clearly understood it all, and in his inaugural message in 1861 characterized "the rebellion as the result of an effort to place capital above labor in the structure of the government." The north, true to human liberty and to free labor, rallied to his defense, and the first conspiracy against workingmen of America failed signally before the eyes of the world, stricken down by the faithful hand of a workingman occupying the highest office in the land.

Not only this; Lincoln and the Republican party in their humanity stooped down and took the three millions of slaves held by the south and in the cruelty of free trade, and made them citizens and free laborers, adding their enormous labor to the competition of its own free labor, which, so far from opposing the action, demanded and welcomed it. The capital of the north, which had opposed the free-trade conspiracy against labor, also supported Lincoln, and has in the main ever since very largely stood in its defense. For the American policy of protection is, when it is all told, maintained for the purpose of perpetuating the difference between the wages of Europe and America. Measure it as you may, there is the whole fact. Protection is no longer for capital. It is wholly for labor.

Thus the Republican party, while protecting labor, also, protected and promoted capital in the interest of labor and the interest of the country. The party early proved its business thrift, as well as its humanity. Early in its life, beginning in '61, it displayed such supreme business ability, and gave to the American people such rule and legislation as enabled this generation of Americans to make and amass more money than any people in the world at any time in history have ever been able to gain. Fortunes were never made so rapidly. The condition of labor was never improved so quickly. It is estimated now by reliable and skilled authorities that in the thirty-two years since 1860 \$33,000,000,000 in value has been added to the wealth of the United States under Republican policies. The south alone, which was destroyed at the end of the war as completely as men and armies can destroy a country, has itself gained and now possesses more wealth than the entire nation possessed at the beginning of the war.

It is to be said, too, that the mass of American capital in this last thirty years has been sympathetic and patriotic. It furnished the five billions of dollars necessary to subdue the Democratic rebellion and save the Union. It furnished the money to develop the country. When two hundred million dollars were needed to run one carload of commerce from San Francisco to New York, largely through a wild and unsettled country, capital cheerfully furnished it. When thousands of millions more were required to make the commerce between the North and the South, East and West, quick and certain and cheap, capital quickly furnished that. Wherever railroads thus built made their

way, the land was touched into a value in gold, the homesteaders' farm and all: This increment of wealth amounted to staggering totals, and it was divided among the millions of the farms and the towns. The same energy and patriotic faith shown by capital in these days were also shown in the establishment of thousands of new factories and enterprises for the larger employment of labor, for creating insurance, banking, telegraph, and all sorts of corporations, until thousands of millions of more money were put into human activities, labor sharing in it all. The capital and the labor of no country have ever fostered and developed a land as patriotically and as rapidly as American labor and American capital have developed this country in the past generation.

Thus, in this short space of time, a mere breath in the life of a nation, the policies and the courage of the Republican party first saved American labor from the conspiracy of free trade to degrade it to slave labor, and next it set up in the new hemisphere a republic of workingmen the best paid in the world. But it can not and will not stop with this, nor will the patriotism of American capital remain satisfied merely with its past. For as much as the Republican party and American capital have done for labor, they will yet do far more. We are near the time when the American Republic, still most faithful of all governments to labor, will rapidly enter upon the revised conditions in the line of cooperation, profit-sharing and industrial capitalization, which shall give to labor still larger rewards. Already the United States has a larger number of profit-sharing establishments than either France or England, and they will multiply rapidly. The American Republic, the land of protection and defense of labor, must lead in these great departures. Capital itself is beginning to see that it is doing well enough when it makes six or eight or ten per cent, and then above that divides the additional profit with labor. It is not only American labor's logical right and good fortune under our peculiar system, but every experiment which has been tried has shown that it profits capital as much as labor.

It gives to the laborer the dignity of partnership. It puts all work, even in the largest establishment, under the eye and hand of a partner. It gives higher reputation, wider market, and a velvet of additional profit to goods and wares so made. The Republican party is sure to encourage capital to take its way to kindly results, and no one can now describe the immeasurable benefits which in this new order will result to the good of labor and the good of the country. For my part, I believe that profit-sharing is the coming solution of the labor problem and of the conflicts between labor and capital. The railways in the land may yet find their refuge in this, from their present doubtful existence under the experiment of being private property under public control. They can look to that, or finally to government ownership, operated under an enlisted service, as well as government control. The immense private enterprises of cities, the large dry goods houses, as well as factories, are not only ready to follow, but some are already leading the way. The great houses of Clafin, and of Thurber, Whyland & Co., of New York, the great Pillsbury mills, of Minnesota, and other large American establishments, have all found in trying this new departure that it is better for themselves as well as better for labor. While capital is trying profit-sharing, let labor and capital together try co-operation. The Republican party can devise the methods and clear the way, in the large wisdom and in the devotion to

labor and the interest of the country that it has always shown. I do not doubt that in a few years we shall see nearly all the larger establishments in America, especially those established and made prosperous under the Republican policy of protection, adopting the plan of profit-sharing and co-operation, thus lifting up American labor still more to the admiration and envy of the world.

By all those tokens of the past, by all those promises of the future, there are millions of workingmen in the Democratic party who belong in the Republican line. As slavery was maintained by the south to insure cheap labor, so are the millions of black men in the south menaced and degraded to-day for the same purpose. The plot of the southern states against the negro race is the same old Democratic plot against free labor. The north to-day is the settled attempt of the south to degrade black labor into a peasantry and into wages of twenty-five or fifty cents a day. No intelligent laboring man north or south should be blind to these facts. The Democratic party has always adulated capital and been domineered by wealth. It protected property when it was invested in human beings as slaves. The changes among rich men in New England now is money going back to the Democratic party. Harvard College goes back to its old love of the money class. All arrogance of wealth is generally displayed against the Republican party. Mugwumpery itself is simply one of the eruptions of congested wealth on the body of the Nation, an arrogant and patronizing assertion of superior intelligence and superior property, which is very offensive to the common people. The Mugwump first grows better than the party, then better than his country. He does not trust the people. He thinks millions are ignorant. He does not believe anybody can be honest and disagree with him. Scratch any Mugwump, never he is, and you will find a free man. Indeed, his genesis as a Mugwump began with free trade, so-called service reform has never yet had an birth in this country. It name taken by a lot of men anxious to delay free trade and yet ashamed to

labor be warned in time. Free is a conspiracy against its right. It is the attitude of the South to-day, but it is the attitude of the Democratic party in the North to-day.

In other ways the Republican party can go still nearer to the people. There are several things I would like to see it enter upon. First, I would like to see it declare for one term in the presidency, a term of six years. This amendment could be adopted to take effect in 1900, or 1901, so that it could not be defeated as every movement of this kind has been heretofore from being considered a reflection upon an existing president. I would like also to see United States senators elected directly by the people. This would cure much of the enervation which has long been visible in the senate. Beyond this I would take the post-office out of National politics and put it in neighborhood politics. I cannot share in the opinion of Republican and Democratic reformers who would select at Washington, by some device of a commission nearly all the postmasters for the seventy thousand postal communities of this Nation. For I would not take away, and in my judgment the American people will never allow to be taken away, from each community the right to a voice in the selection of its own postmaster. There is no reason why every postmaster should not be elected by the people whom they serve. The post-offices have been largely the element of discord in National politics

They lead very often to party division and party weakness. They have killed off more good congressmen and more good senators than all other causes combined. There are no ills in this government which cannot be cured by carrying them directly to the decision and the wisdom of the plain people.

LINCOLN AS A LABOR LEADER¹

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A BRAHAM LINCOLN won his reputation and achieved his service for the Nation by the solution of the labor problem of his time—slavery. How can we apply the principles he inculcated and the spirit he exemplified in solving the labor problem of our time? This is the theme to which I ask your attention this afternoon. For it would be useless for me to attempt to repeat the story of his life, or essay an analysis of his character. This has been so eloquently done by the Chairman of this meeting in his address before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in 1900, and by Carl Schurz in his well-known essay, that the repetition of their service would be needless if it were possible; and for me would be impossible if it were needed. I might as well attempt to reconstruct a Saint-Gaudens statue of Lincoln with my clumsy hand as with my faltering tongue to resing the song or retell the story so often sung and so often told. Instead, I shall venture to repeat, from the well-known ode of Lowell, his portrait of the Great Emancipator, and then pass on to my chosen field:

“Nature, they say, doth dote,
And cannot make a man
Save on some worn-out plan,
Repeating us by rote:
For him her Old-World molds aside she
threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and
true.
How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to
lead;
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
Not lured by any cheat of birth,
But by his clear-grained human worth,
And brave old wisdom of sincerity!
... standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,

¹An address delivered at the exercises commemorative of the Centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, under the auspices of the Committee appointed by George Brinton McClellan, Mayor of New York, Friday, February 12, 1909, at Cooper Union, New York. The Chairman was the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, late Ambassador to Great Britain.

The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.”

Nearly half a century ago, a young man just entering on my professional career, I came to Cooper Institute to hear the Western orator whose debate with Douglas had given him a National reputation. Some of his friends had broached to him the subject of a nomination to the Presidency. “What,” he replied, “is the use of talking of me when we have such men as Seward and Chase, and everybody knows them, and scarcely anybody outside of Illinois knows me? Besides, as a matter of justice, is it not due to them?” His friends, more sanguine than he was about himself, had resolved that he should be known, and had arranged for some Eastern speeches by him. This Cooper Union speech was the first given in this Eastern campaign. My recollection of the scene is little more than a memory of a memory. The long hall with the platform at the end, not at the side as now; the great, expectant, but not enthusiastic crowd; the tall, ungainly figure, the melancholy face, the clear carrying voice, the few awkward gestures. I had been accustomed to the dramatic and impassioned oratory of Henry Ward Beecher. I was an admirer, not of the principles, but of the perfect literary finish of Wendell Phillips’s rapier-like conversations with his audiences. I listened to a speech that night as passionless but also as convincing as a demonstration in Euclid’s geometry, as clear and cogent, but also as absolutely without oratorical ornament of any description. So much, with some effort, I recall. But no effort would enable me ever to forget the new impulse which that great personality imparted to my youthful imagination. From that moment I, who before that time had been a Seward Republican, became an enthusiastic Lincoln Republican, and have stayed converted ever since. Subsequent study of his life and writings has enabled me to analyze the then unanalyzed impression which

He embodied on the young men of his generation. He was an embodied challenge to the conscience of the Nation. He takes a place in American history which belongs to Amos in the history of the Hebrew people: like Amos, a son of the people; like Amos, with a plumb-line of righteousness by which he measured the institutions of his country; like Amos, bringing every political question to the test. What is right? and by that test insisting that all political questions should be determined.

Various stories are told, some historical, some legendary, to illustrate Abraham Lincoln's faith in prayer offered to a God efficient in the affairs of this world. The first expression of such faith that I can find from Mr. Lincoln himself is in his address to his fellow-citizens of Springfield as he starts on his eastward journey to his first inauguration: "I now leave not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me and remain with you and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

From this simple faith in the God who watches over nations as over individuals he never departed. Subsequent events only served to deepen and strengthen it. But in his earlier life, before burdens too heavy for him to bear alone had driven him to look for help to the Helper of men, Mr. Lincoln was an agnostic. He wrote in his youth an essay against Christianity, which, fortunately for his reputation, a wise friend threw into the fire. But if that is the only indication of an anti-Christian faith, there is no indication in his youth of any religious faith, Christian or other. Says Mr. Herndon: "Mr. Lincoln had no faith. In order to believe he must see and feel and thrust his hand into the place. He must taste, smell, or handle before he had faith or even belief." Mr. Herndon's estimate is confirmed by that of Lincoln's wife. "Mr. Lincoln," she says, "had no faith and no hope in the usual acceptance

of those words. He never joined a church; but still, as I believe, he was a religious man by nature. . . . He first seemed to think about the subject when our Willie died, and then more than ever at the time he went to Gettysburg; but it was a kind of poetry in his nature, and he was never a technical Christian."

What profounder religious faith than was expressed in Mr. Lincoln's Springfield speech Mrs. Lincoln looked for I do not know; and what is meant by a technical Christian I am not quite sure. But if Mr. Lincoln had in the early part of his life no faith and no hope, it is certain that from his earliest years he had a conscience. Whether it was inherited from his mother, or acquired by education, or received by a susceptible soul from that mysterious Being in whom we have our life, it certainly dominated his whole nature and controlled his whole conduct. From his youth up he was known among his rough companions as "Honest Abe." They were accustomed to refer to him their controversies and accept his arbitrament, generally without question. If ever there is a time in the life of man when his conscience takes the second place and his passion comes to the front, it is when he is in love. I think Abraham Lincoln's letter to Mary Owens in 1837 is a unique specimen in love literature, of love-making by conscience: "I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so with women. I want at this particular time, more than anything else, to do right with you; and if I knew it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would be, to let you alone, I would do it. And for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say that you can now drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. . . . Nothing would make me more miserable than to believe you miserable—nothing more happy than to know you were so." He was a man of eager professional ambitions; but his notes prepared for a law lecture in 1850, which was, so far as I know, never delivered, show that in his innermost thought his professional ambitions were subordinated to his conscience. "There is," he says, "a vague popular

belief that lawyers are necessarily dishonest. I say 'vague,' because when we consider to what extent confidence and honors are reposed in and conferred upon lawyers by the people, it appears improbable that their impression of dishonesty is very distinct and vivid; yet the impression is common, almost universal. Let no young man using the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief—resolve to be honest at all events, and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation rather than one in the choosing of which you do in advance consent to be a knave."

Lincoln was a man of strong political ambitions; but from the outset of his life his political ambitions were subordinated to his desire for public righteousness. In 1836 he was running for the first time for office. His defeat then would have probably been a permanent end to his political hopes. A Mr. Robert Allen had said that he was in possession of facts which if known to the public would destroy Mr. Lincoln's prospects, but through favor to Mr. Lincoln he would not divulge those facts. Mr. Lincoln writes him: "No one has needed favors more than I, and generally few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it." And then he adds: "The candid statement of facts on your part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the tie of personal friendship between us." It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of the dominating power of conscience than in this declaration than an act just to the public and destructive to the writer's ambitions would not sunder the ties of friendship between the writer and the man who had destroyed his political hopes.

A year later, at twenty-eight years of age, Lincoln delivers a Lyceum address in Springfield. He warns the young men to whom he speaks of impending National peril. He fears no attack of foreign foe. "As a nation of freemen," he says, "we must live through all time, or die by suicide." The domestic peril which he fears is not intemperance, nor gambling, nor even slavery, but a lack of

conscience, a disregard of justice, "the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgments of courts and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice." He is nominated by the Republicans of Illinois against Stephen A. Douglas to be United States Senator. He prepares with care his speech of acceptance and reads it to his friends. It opens with these pregnant sentences, since become famous in the political history of America: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." His cautious friends protest. One calls it a fool utterance. Another says it is ahead of the times. A third argues that it would drive away a good many voters fresh from the Democratic ranks. Even his abolition friend, Herndon, doubts its wisdom. "This thing," replies Lincoln, "has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentences should be heard, and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth. Let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right." In his subsequent debate with Douglas he nails this flag to the mast and keeps it flying there. "The real issue is whether slavery is right or wrong. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle."

Such was the man who came to New York and in this hall forty-nine years ago issued his challenge to the sleeping conscience of the city. He was in the commercial metropolis of the Nation, the Corinth of America. All its life was centered in and dominated by its commercial interests. Its great religious societies and its most influential pulpits, with a few notable exceptions, were silent respecting the wrong of slavery. Cotton was king;

and New York was his capital. Nowhere more than in New York was compromise popular and uncompromising hostility to slavery abhorrent to popular sentiment; nowhere more than in New York might the word have been pronounced against those that close their eyes that they may not see, their ears that they may not hear, and their hearts that they may not feel, lest they should be converted. Even the most radical anti-slavery journal in the city damned the Western orator with faint praise. With a moral courage rarely exceeded, though happily not without frequent historic parallels, Abraham Lincoln in this city and to this audience reissued his challenge to the conscience of the Nation. "If slavery," he said, "is right, we cannot justly object to its sovereignty, its universality. If it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension, its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant if we thought slavery right. All we ask they could as readily grant if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy." In that issue, so stated, compromise was impossible.

The slavery question seems so simple to us now; but it was not simple to the men of that generation. Let us go back and attempt to conceive it as it appeared to them. The year 1620, which saw the Pilgrim Fathers landing on Plymouth Rock, saw a vessel of slaves landing on the Virginia coast. For nearly two hundred years slavery existed in every State in the Union except Massachusetts, and some citizens of Massachusetts engaged in the slave trade. Partly from moral, partly from economic reasons, it was gradually abolished in the Northern States. But the invention of the cotton gin created a greatly increased demand for cotton, and the greatly increased demand for cotton created a greatly increased demand for negro labor, and this gave slavery a new life in the Southern States. It was first regretted, then excused, then justified, finally glorified. Other causes tended to promote radical differences between North and South, but they would easily have been overcome had it not been that slavery existed in one section and not in another. For a while a line was drawn across the

continent, and an agreement was reached that south of that line slavery should never be interfered with, north of that line the territory should remain forever free. The abolition of this compromise in 1854 opened Northern territory to slavery and threw the whole country into a ferment of passion and panic. In the light of subsequent history arguments do not seem even specious now that seemed forceful then. They were such as these: Slave labor is necessary to cotton, and cotton is necessary to the world. Slaves have been made property, and interference with slavery is a violation of vested rights. Slavery is recognized by the Constitution; to interfere with slavery is to violate a solemn compact and to rend asunder the most sacred document ever written by human hands. Slavery is justified by patriarchal example, by Old Testament laws, and by Noah's curse of Canaan and his descendants; to demand its abolition is to deny the Bible and attack the foundations of religion. The continued agitation of the slave question destroys business prosperity, paralyzes industry, threatens the destruction of the Union, the last hope of democracy upon the earth; against such disastrous consequences the imaginary welfare of three million black men is not for an instant to be weighed. Thus economics, the rights of property, the Constitution of the United States, the Old Testament laws, the spirit of patriotism, re-enforced by the inertia miscalled conservatism, were all combined in the endeavor to prohibit agitation of the slavery question. Eloquently did Mr. Lincoln sum up the condition of the negro in a speech delivered in Springfield a year before his nomination to the United States Senate:

All the powers of the earth seem rapidly combining against him. Mammon is after him, ambition follows, philosophy follows, and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison-house; they have searched his person and left no prying instrument with him. One after another they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him, and now they have him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key; the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what

invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is.

In the confused and vehement conflict of passions and opinions which only the pen of a Carlyle would be adequate to portray, there emerged two parties, both of which justified the abolition of the Missouri Compromise and the opening of Northern territory to the incursion of slavery. One of these parties in the Presidential election of 1860 was represented by Breckinridge, the other by Douglas. The first demanded the Constitutional right to carry their slaves as property into every State in the Union. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, boasted that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill Monument. The famous Dred Scott decision, that a slave was not converted into a free man by being carried into free territory, gave apparent if not real support to the Constitutional argument of the Breckinridge wing. The other party did not claim that slavery *must* go, but only that it *might* go, into Northern territory. As a compromise between North and South, Stephen A. Douglas invented the doctrine which his friends called popular sovereignty and his enemies squatter sovereignty; the doctrine that the people of any State might determine whether it should be a free or a slave State when they framed its constitution. To both these doctrines Mr. Lincoln brought the plumb-line of practical righteousness. His answer to the Dred Scott decision was: "It is singular that the courts would hold that a man never lost his right to his property that had been stolen from him, but that he instantly lost the right to himself if he was stolen." His answer to popular sovereignty was equally terse and equally unanswerable: "The doctrine of self-government is right, absolutely and eternally right. . . . But when the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government; that is despotism."

And his answer to all the defenses of slavery, economic, philosophic, humanitarian, and religious, was summed up in an appeal to consciousness that might have been derived from Darwin's "Emotions in Animals and Man," if that book had

then been written. He says: "The ant who has toiled and dragged a crumb to his nest will fiercely defend the fruit of his labor against whatever robber assails him. So plain is it that the most dumb and stupid slave that ever toiled for a master does know that he has been wronged. So plain is it that no one, high or low, ever does mistake it, except in a plainly selfish way; for, although volume upon volume is written to prove slavery a very good thing, we never hear of the man who writes to tell the good of it, being a slave himself."

And yet Mr. Lincoln was not an abolitionist. Not because he was less just, but because he was more just; because he recognized rights which the abolitionists did not recognize, and insisted upon duties which they ignored. The abolitionists declared that slave-holders, slave-traders, and slave-drivers "are a race of monsters unparalleled in their assumption of power and their despotic cruelty." Never did Mr. Lincoln utter a word of bitterness or hate against the slave-owner. "I have," he said, "no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up." The abolitionists declared that the existing Constitution of the United States "is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Mr. Lincoln believed in that Constitution, honored the men who framed it, solemnly swore to support it, and laid down his life in maintaining that solemn oath. The abolitionists demanded "immediate, unconditional emancipation." One of Mr. Lincoln's first acts in going to Congress was to propose a bill for the gradual emancipation of slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the slave-owners; and one of his last acts, before reluctantly consenting to issue an emancipation proclamation as a war measure, was to secure from Congress a pledge of National co-operation with the slaveholders of the loyal States, if they would consent to gradual emancipation with compensation. The abolitionists proclaimed as a fundamental principle, "No union with slaveholders." Mr. Lincoln, in the midst of

to. C. L. Bar. wrote to Horace Greeley: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." Lincoln was not an abolitionist: because he had charity for the slaveholder for whom the abolitionist had no charity; because he honored the Constitution which the abolitionists denounced; because he used every endeavor to persuade the Nation to assume its share of responsibility for slavery and its share of the burden involved in emancipation, from which the abolitionists endeavored in vain to escape; and because he endured four as sad years as ever have fallen to the lot of any man, in order that he might save the Union which the abolitionists wished to destroy. And yet to the principle, No further extension of slavery on American soil, he gave himself with uncompromising consecration. For that principle he hazarded his own political fortunes, the fortunes of his party, and the life of the Nation. To all remonstrances urging compromise upon him after his election, his answer was the same: "On the territorial question—that is, the question of extending slavery under national auspices—I am inflexible."

I have said that the slavery question was one phase of the labor question. So said Mr. Lincoln nearly half a century ago. "The existing rebellion," he wrote to a Committee from the Working Men's Association of New York, "is in fact a war upon the rights of all working people." To what conclusion would his principles and his spirit lead upon the Labor Question as it is presented to us in our times?

We may be sure that he who never denounced the slaveholder, who never did anything to intensify the profound ire of South against North or North against South, would enter into no class war, would never denounce the rich to the poor or the poor to the rich. He who told the farmers of Wisconsin that the reason why there were more attempts to flatter them than any other class was because they could cast more votes, but that to his thinking they were neither better nor worse than other people, would never flatter the mechanic class to win for himself or his party a labor vote. He who

in 1864 held with workingmen that "the strongest bond of human sympathy outside of the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds" would not condemn labor unions. He who at the same time said to them, Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, would have condemned all lawless acts of violence whether against the employer of labor or the non-union laborer who is employed. He who thanked God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike—a point where the workingman may stop working—would not deny this right to the workingman of to-day. He who said in 1860, "I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich, and I do believe in allowing the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with any one else," would have found, not in war upon the wealthy, but in equal opportunity for all, the remedy for social and industrial inequalities. He who condemned the muddsill theory, the theory that labor and education are incompatible and that "a blind horse upon a treadmill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be, all the better for being blind so that he could not kick understandingly," would be the earnest advocate of child labor laws and industrial education. He who argued that "As the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should co-operate as friends, and that that particular head should direct and control that pair of hands," would believe in co-operation between labor and capital, leading on to the time when laborers should become capitalists and all capitalists should become laborers. He who held in 1854 that "The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot by individual effort do at all or do so well for themselves," would neither believe in the night-watchman theory of government which allows it to do nothing but police duty, nor in the socialistic theory of government which leaves nothing for individual effort to do for itself.

Two solutions of the labor problem present themselves in our time for our

acceptance. One is capitalism, or the wages system: that a few shall always own the tools and implements with which industry is carried on; these are capitalists; and that the many shall always carry on the industry with these tools and implements for wages paid by their owners. This makes the mass of men always wage laborers, dependent upon a few. The other is State Socialism: that the government shall own all the tools and implements of industry, and allot to the various members of the community their respective industries and compensations. This makes all individuals wage-earners employed by an organization; the city, State, or Nation, in the control of which it is assumed all will share. Neither of these solutions would Mr. Lincoln have accepted. Neither of these solutions did he accept. No solution would he have accepted which made the workingman, whether he works with brain or with hand, a perpetual wage-earner fixed in that condition for life, and forever dependent for his livelihood upon any employer, whether private or political. He did not believe in a perpetual employment of the many by a few capitalists; he would not have believed in a perpetual employment of all by one capitalist—the State or the Nation. He believed in a fair field and an open door through which every workingman may become a capitalist, every wage-earner may become his own employer.

In his first annual message Lincoln stated with great clearness his solution of the labor problem. To that statement he attached such importance that he repeated it two years and a half later in his letter to the Working Men's Association of New York. The importance he attached to this statement of his faith justifies my reading it at some length:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which

are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is and probably always will be a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. . . . There is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequently energy and progress and improvement of condition to all."

Many years ago I delivered an address to a deaf and dumb audience. The congregation fixed their attention upon the interpreter at my side. They looked at him. Through him they heard me. My ambition this afternoon has been to efface myself and bid you listen to the invisible orator who stands by my side with his sad face, his resolute conscience, his human sympathies, and his simple, sincere English. What, if you could hear him, he would say would be, I think, what he said in 1860 to the capitalists and workingmen of New Haven:

"I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer mending rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to a poor man's son. I want every man to have the chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition, when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him. That is the true system. . . . Then you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth."

This is Abraham Lincoln's solution of the labor problem.

Lette

Lincoln's View of Labor.

Editor of The Globe, Sir—Isaac Roberts suggests in this evening's Globe that if Abraham Lincoln could be called before the Commission on Industrial Relations his testimony would have a far greater effect than any that has yet been heard or will be heard. While the writer is not so certain about this as Mr. Roberts evidently is, I will ask you nevertheless to give space to the following quotation from one of Lincoln's speeches:

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to do it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves.

"Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration.

"Capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert to fleece the people."

OTTO BOBSIEN.

New York, Feb. 5.

New York Globe 2-12-15

Lincoln's Economics

Of the many texts of Lincoln appropriate to the day we select the following:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves the highest consideration."

Here is the summing up of the economic side of Americanism by the greatest American. The institutions of property and of capitalism exist only as they prove themselves of value to the man. The title deeds of wealth rest on service to all. This doctrine comes to us from the birth of the Republic—is implicit in the Declaration of Independence.

Lincoln and Marx, how their spirits contrast! One would build an edifice of coöperation on trust and confidence among all men; the other recommends hate and class antagonism as social binders. One is conservator and emancipator and the other destroyer and enslaver; one would attain social harmony through the free action of men, the other by regimenting them under a régime of force. Yet between Lincoln and Marx the world during the next ten years seems destined to choose.

Capitalism is commonly defended as a system which secures great personal reward to exceptional social service. The charge against it is that it does not distribute equitably. But its rewarding, stimulating and distributing functions are relatively unimportant. Its chief value is that it secures competent command in industry and by its leadership swells production. Its next great service is that it secures great improvements for the future.

These are its great services and justify its existence. The abuses of capitalistic distribution are correctible, and likewise it is possible to associate the employed in management, and thus make men more happy in their tasks. This is applying Lincoln's principles to the needs of the hour, and it is peculiarly the privilege of this country to act as schoolmaster to a distracted world.

New York Tribune

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements

Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1920.

Lincoln Visualized As Head of Big Industry

By B. C. FORBES.

LINCOLN, who died only sixty-two years ago, is becoming the best-loved, most revered figure in American history.

Today the figure on the world stage attracting the greatest hero-worship is a man starkly different from the Lincoln type, Mussolini.

How can this be accounted for?

Lincoln freed this country's slaves. Mussolini has imposed a species of slavery on all classes in Italy. Lincoln stood for freedom. Mussolini suppresses freedom. Under Lincoln the press was unfettered. Under Mussolini the press is muzzled.

Lincoln was a democrat of democrats. Mussolini is an autocrat of autocrats. Lincoln sought counsel from others. Mussolini, as dictator, issues arbitrary decrees.

Yet the majority of Italian, so far as one can judge, adore Mussolini as a demi-god. Never was ancient Roman emperor more enthusiastically applauded by the populace. Napoleon never received more demonstrative receptions than are accorded Il Duce. His staged journeys are noise-dazzling processions.

The repeated attempts to assassinate him have not only intensified the hero worship, but have convinced the masses that Providence has invested him with a charmed life.

* * *

Should Mussolini live ten more years or longer, the probability is that he will suffer the fate of most dictators.

The World War caused such upheavals and left various nations so stricken that the people clamored for some radical change in the conduct of their national affairs. They were disgusted with the type of government which had plunged them into such distress. During the war crowned heads fell. After the war some countries lurched towards Bolshevism and Socialism; others towards dictators. Even staid Britain turned over the reins of government to a labor party.

* * *

But dictators are not in harmony with modern human conceptions. Abnormal conditions brought abnormal forms of government. But the abnormal will give way to the normal, and when this time comes the dictators will be overthrown.

* * *

The dictators who have arisen in different countries during the

last decade are certain to pass from the scene without leaving memories comparable with those left by Lincoln.

The supremacy of George Washington is no longer unchallenged. Lincoln's star has been steadily on the ascendant during recent years. He was so human, so much of the people, so democratic, so unaffected, so natural, so full of unconquerable courage, so sympathetic, and he seasoned all his other virtues and qualities with an irresistible sense of humor.

George Washington would not have fitted into the modern industrial world as ideally as Lincoln. Lincoln doubtless would have made a wonderfully successful leader of a large force of wage earners. They would have regarded him as one of themselves. He would have known many of them by their first names, and to them he would have been "Abe." His co-workers would have felt that they were not working for him but with him.

Don't you rather think that, as president of the mammoth industrial corporation, Lincoln would have led the way in bringing about the most humane working conditions? Can't you picture him as throwing his heart and soul into establishing proper working hours, pleasant environment, some form of "industrial democracy," a plan enabling steady workers to become stock owners, a bonus or profit-sharing for meritorious workers, group insurance for the benefit of the workers' families, annual vacations with pay for the men in overalls as well as for those wearing collars and cuffs, educational classes, courses of training, thrift plans, social get-togethers, etc., etc.?

I notice that either a bust or a large photograph of Napoleon adorns the offices of not a few of our powerful industrial leaders. Would it not be more appropriate, would the influence not be better, if in place of Napoleon, our commanders-in-chief of armies of of wage earners chose Lincoln as their inspiration?

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B. C. Forbes.

RIGHTS OF LABOR SEEN BY LINCOLN, SAYS GREEN

***His Realization of Working Man's
Need for Freedom Asserted by
Federation Head Here.***

Abraham Lincoln's conception of the relationship which should exist between capital and labor, as reflected in his public addresses, published articles and State papers, was described last night by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, at the annual Lincoln's birthday dinner given by the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Mr. Green's address was broadcast over Station WEAJ and the nation-wide hook-up of the National Broadcasting Company.

Declaring that Lincoln evidently grasped the economic fallacy upon which the institution of human slavery was based, Mr. Green said that Lincoln also realized, perhaps far in advance of other men, that free labor was essential to national greatness and national prosperity.

"The conclusion must be reached," Mr. Green said, "that according to Lincoln's philosophy working people should be permitted to exercise the right to organize for mutual protection, cooperation and collective bargaining."

He quoted from a speech at Hartford, Conn., on March 5, 1860, in which Lincoln said that he "thanked God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the working man may stop."

Corporation Counsel Arthur J. W. Hilly represented Mayor Walker at the dinner.

WORDS OF WISDOM

Small (ed) Words, 2-4-1924

Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.—Abraham Lincoln.

Office of Indiana Commission
A Lincoln Motto. Feb. 12 - 1921

A century ago, a boy, who was to be crowned with immortal fame, lived on a hilly, unfruitful farm in southern Indiana. A few days ago the governor, in reply to appeals from all over the country, decided that a Lincoln Home Trail shall be constructed through that farm.

This highway will bring countless thousands of pilgrims to the spot where the boy Lincoln laid the foundation for his immortal career. It will give them Lincoln thoughts; it will cause them to ask:

"What lessons did Lincoln learn here, that he could rise head and shoulders above his fellows?"

"I did not go to school more than six months in my life," Abraham Lincoln said years afterward.

But he learned the greatest lessons life can teach! For he studied nature, books, man. He studied life itself.

"Do it better than any one you know does it!"

That was one of Abe Lincoln's boyhood commands to himself. He became the best wrestler, the fastest runner, the hardest worker in and around Gentryville. He was a perfect speller, so they always ruled him out of spelling matches. He was the best read man in three counties, the best penman, the best debater.

Ida Tarbell says of Lincoln, "He could strike with a maul heavier blows" and "sink an ax deeper into the wood" than anybody else in the community.

How? Why?

"Do it better than anybody else you know!"

Lincoln carried this same idea into his home life; he was a better son to his step-mother than her own son was. That is no common thing. But his step-mother's word proves it:

"Abe never gave me a cross word or look. He never refused, in fact or appearance, to do anything I requested him. * * * I had a son, John, who was raised with Abe. Both were good boys; but I must say, both now being dead, that Abe was the best boy I ever saw, or expect to see."

Lessons Lincoln learned can be learned by any of us living today by studying what he studied, nature, books, man—and life itself.

To "do it better than any one else you know" demands effort as earnest and thorough as Lincoln gave back in the days when he lived on the Lincoln Home Trail.

~~Presidential Address~~
Lincoln's Far-Sightedness.

That Abraham Lincoln was a man of great vision and read the future of his country more accurately than any man of his time—perhaps of any time—is testified by several incidents related in J. W. Starr's remarkable document, "Lincoln's Last Day" (Stokes). During a conversation with Speaker Colfax, who was leaving for the mining regions of the West, Lincoln gave this message: "Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation and we shall prove in a very few years that we are indeed the treasury of the world." On this day Lincoln also discussed the Panama canal project as an important next step. 2/10/23

Lincoln's Labor Principles Are Still Fundamental

TAKING the hint as well as the quotation from The World Tomorrow, that heroic journal which keeps all socially minded Christians in its debt, we set down herewith the doctrines of labor which Abraham Lincoln held as fundamental. They are as sound in principle today as are all the moral utterances of that prophet of justice. "I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, when they are not

obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man 'quit' when he wants to, and I wish it might prevail everywhere." "I want a man to have a chance to better his condition; that is the true system." "I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer." "It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed." "Labor is the superior of capital and deserves higher consideration. And inasmuch as most things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue." "To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any government. It seems strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces." "When it comes to a question between a man and a dollar, I am on the side of the man every time."

RECALL LINCOLN MESSAGE OF 65 YEARS AGO

Springfield, Ill., Sept. 3.—(P)—Sixty-five years ago today a union meeting of a different sort than today's labor union meeting was held here. Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, sent his regrets that he was unable to be present and predicted an end of the civil war and victory for the Union.

"Peace," he wrote, "does not seem so far distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that, among free men, there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet."

"Still, let us not be oversanguine of a speedy triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result."

That event was recalled today at the meeting of labor unionists of Decatur, Bloomington, Peoria, Jacksonville, Lincoln, Staunton, Carlinville, and Gillespie, at which Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, was the chief speaker. A long parade was led through downtown streets.

Lincoln Had Sound Labor Philosophy, Historian Holds

President No Enemy Of Capital, but Put Worker First

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Feb. 11.—Many of Abraham Lincoln's precepts on the relationship between capital and labor were pictured today by a University of Chicago historian as "accurately tuned" to world conditions of today.

Pointing to what he described as the "relatively little known" aspects of Lincoln's capital-labor philosophy, William T. Hutchinson, associate professor of American history at the University of Chicago, projected the Civil War President as a leader with "solid views" on the relationships between employers and employees.

Highly Regarded by Workers.

"Lincoln's keen understanding of underlying economic principles and the profound regard with which he was held by labor throughout the world are relatively little known," the historian said. "In many respects this phase of his statesmanship was most important and many of his precepts are accurately tuned to the economically troubled world today."

In support of his views, the professor cited Lincoln's statement of 1864 addressed to the workingmen of New York as epitomizing the emancipator's capital-labor philosophy. At that time Lincoln said:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds.

Property Fruit of Labor.

"Nor should this lead to war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable, and is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise.

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example insuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

Lincoln, the professor said, was "no enemy of property and he believed that capital had rights (although not as many as labor) which were as worthy of protection as any other rights.

"Lincoln certainly did not believe in the sanctity of capital tempered only by a certain reserved minimum of labor rights.

"He rather believed in the sanctity of labor rights with a measure of capitalism as their necessary limitation."

ELBERT HUBBARD ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

Of his many works there are none left behind by Elbert Hubbard so clearly showing his attitude on the relations between employers and employes as his Scrap Book. This book is a collection of his favorite quotations from various authors. Many of them have to do with capital and labor. It is easy to follow his thread of thought from these favorite quotations. Two things stand out unmistakably: First, that employes should put their best effort into their work, and, second, that employers should deal fairly with their employes. Hubbard dared to criticize unsparingly where either employes or employers were remiss in these paramount obligations to each other. He believed in cooperation, mutual good-will and loyalty.

On the outside front cover of this issue appears a quotation by Abraham Lincoln which was a favorite with Hubbard. No man could have phrased more clearly or convincingly, the great truth embodied in this

statement on capital and labor, and Hubbard recognized the inescapable justice of this quotation.

It is unthinkable that Hubbard would have sanctioned conditions in industry savoring of the old master and servant relationship. The inevitable conclusion with respect to his philosophy of life is, that criticism founded upon truth is an instrument for the advancement of humanity. No one is immune whose acts invite it. The king-can-do-no-wrong attitude is out of the picture in this enlightened age.

LINCOLN ON LABOR

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—Mr. C. L. Glenn's letter, which appears in today's PUBLIC LEDGER, pertaining to Socialism, moves me to make the following remarks:

The broadened functions of our Government are the inevitable outgrowth of anti-social activities of industrialists and financiers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We had devastating depressions in this country before Socialism was ever thought of, most of them the result of the lack of planning which characterizes a society based on the irresponsibilities of rugged individualism.

Abraham Lincoln, now that he is no more, receives the gaudy adulation of the reactionaries, but were he alive today he would be, as he was when he lived, the anathema of smug, greedy conservatism. It was he who said:

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," and since then, if we except the light and the air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good Government.

New conditions demand new measures, and Toryism will solve none of our pressing problems.

H. S. DORISS.

Philadelphia, Aug. 7, 1932.

What Would Lincoln Have Done

Regimentation of labor and industry has been widely and warmly discussed during the last two or three years. The proposal is not new, even in our own country; that which is new in these United States is its attempted application by the Federal government.

Lincoln devoted a part of his first annual message to Congress to a consideration of the reciprocal relations of labor and industry. He said:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is and probably always will be a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is of assuming the whole labor of community exists within that relation . . .

"Men with their families—wives, sons and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

"Again, as has already been said, there is no necessity for any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives

were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned.

"Let them beware of surrendering a political power they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all liberty shall be lost."

That a class of young men who never toil should be bred and born, living on the dole, supported by the taxpayers who do toil—such an anomaly was beyond the concept of the just and generous Lincoln.

Unity of purpose and unity of direction was the guiding principle of Lincoln in the conduct of national affairs. Referring to the supreme command of the Army he said:

"It has been said that one bad general is better than two good ones, and the saying is true if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though, inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross purposes with each other.

"And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaged can have none but a common purpose in view and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea no one can wish the ship to sink, and yet not unfrequently all go down together because too many will direct and no single mind can be allowed to control."

Lincoln was the father of the Department of Agriculture. One wonders what would have been his reaction to the A.A.A.! His ideas of the proper relation of the Federal government to the farming industry is thus set forth in one of his messages to Congress:

"Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as not to have demanded and extorted more from the government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with great advantage.

"Annual reports exhibiting

the condition of our agriculture, commerce and manufactures would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural and statistical bureau might profitably be organized."

Of foreign relations, Lincoln said:

"It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign States, because, whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of our country and the stability of our government depend not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism and intelligence of the American people."

And in his last message to Congress Lincoln expressed himself as follows regarding the admission to the United States of undesirable aliens:

"For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States."

Lincoln did not hesitate to qualify as "enemies of the human race" all those who attempted by violence or craft to destroy the government that a free people had set up for themselves

Recently a propaganda pamphlet was circulated headed "Lincoln the Atheist." The following extract from a proclamation issued by Lincoln on March 30 was NOT included:

"Whereas it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sor-

row, yet with assured hope that that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth, announced by the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that these nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord.

"And, insomuch that by His divine law nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, and may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of heaven; we have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity; we have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us, and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God who made us."

Finally, in reply to the propaganda of his political opponents in the campaign of 1864, Lincoln said:

"Our opponents ask you to judge them by their professions; I ask you to judge them by their practices."

LINCOLN PLANS FOR UNEMPLOYED

Compiled by HERBERT WELLS FAY, Custodian Lincoln's Tomb

The following is a verbal message given by Mr. Lincoln to Schuyler Colfax for the miners of the far west. It was given April 14, 1865, and was one of his last public acts. It is as follows:

Mr. Colfax:- I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our Nation. I believe it is practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the western country, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of millions of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But, now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine makes the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now, I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be a demand for. I am going to try and attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from over-crowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that waits for them in the West. Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and we shall prove, in a very few years, that we are, indeed, the treasury of the world. (End of quotation)

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor.
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Number 432

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

July 19, 1937

LINCOLN'S COMMENTS ON LABOR AND CAPITAL

The industrial unrest everywhere evident, makes it timely to compile some of the statements which Lincoln made with reference to the problems of labor and capital as they existed in his day. Care has been taken not to include passages which referred directly or indirectly to the status of slave labor which was then a live question. It should be remembered that Lincoln lived in a period previous to the machine age and its systems of industrialism with which we are so well acquainted.

"There is no permanent class of hired laborers among us."—1854.

"Universal idleness would speedily result in universal ruin."—1847.

"Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals."—1854.

"No good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor."—1847.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty."—1862.

"Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn."—1859.

"Let not him who is homeless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently to build one for himself."

"The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account today and will hire the labor of others tomorrow."—1854.

"Labor is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it and you increase the price of it."—1862.

"Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them."—1847.

"When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition, he knows there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life."—1860.

"Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise."—1864.

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property."—1864.

"What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good."—1860.

"It has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others without labor enjoyed a large

proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."—1847.

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is and probably always will be a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits."—1861.

"The habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor and idleness. Of these the first only is meritorious, and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy for this is to, so far as possible, drive useless labor and idleness out of existence."—1847.

"There is no necessity for any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of conditions to all."—1861.

" . . . Men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also if they should choose, when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor, and hire other people to labor for them, is right. In doing so, they do not wrong the man they employ, for they find men who have not their own land to work upon, or shops to work in, and who are benefitted by working for others—hired laborers, receiving their capital for it. Thus a few men that own capital hire a few others, and these establish the relation of capital and labor rightfully—a relation of which I make no complaint. . . . "—1859.

"It seems to be an opinion very generally entertained that the condition of a nation is best whenever it can buy cheapest; but this is not necessarily true, because if at the same time and by the same cause, it is compelled to sell correspondingly cheap, nothing is gained. Then it is said the best condition is when we can buy cheapest and sell dearest; but this again is not necessarily true, because with both these we might have scarcely anything to sell, or, which is the same thing, to buy with.

"These reflections show that to reason and act correctly on this subject we must look not merely to buying cheap, nor yet to buying cheap and selling dear, but also to having constant employment, so that we may have the largest possible amount of something to sell. This matter of employment can only be secured by an ample, steady, and certain market to sell the products of our labor in."—1847.

LET'S HAVE EMANCIPATION FROM IDLENESS

Seventy-five years ago the Emancipation Proclamation was fresh from the hands of Abraham Lincoln.

It was a path-breaking document. It gave tangible form to the Lincoln doctrine that this great nation could not survive "half free, half slave."

Today, Lincoln's Birthday, finds this nation divided along other lines.

Today we must ask ourselves whether this nation can survive "half employed and half jobless."

Use of the word "half" is, of course, an exaggeration. The total number of slaves at the peak was 4,000,000. Degrading as was their lot, they, at least, were assured of sustenance, because it was to the interests of their masters to see that they were fed and clothed and housed. The law guaranteed that, too.

Today's total of jobless is 12,000,000. That number is increasing. Including the families of these wage-earners, at least ONE-THIRD OF THE NATION EXISTS TODAY SOLELY BY THE GRACE OF LADY BOUNTIFUL—

Either in the form of Federal work relief, the dole, help from relatives, or the poorhouse.

What better day than Lincoln's Birthday to reflect that a "nation indivisible" must be indivisible not only politically but economically as well?

* * *

Local relief rolls have increased sharply in three months. That barometer of the recession may not be found on the economic indexes, but it is plain to be seen in the purses of the people and in the cash registers of merchants.

WPA rolls have increased, too. But in the wake of a sharp decrease brought about by the attempt to balance the budget on the foundation of unbalanced budgets of the people themselves.

We have a nation rich in resources, powerful in its productive capacity. Yet the nation finds itself all but paralyzed in distributing the products of its common toil.

That challenge must be met — as decisively as Lincoln met the challenge of his own day.

* * *

We believe the challenge can be met if President Roosevelt will establish as a national policy the promise made by him when he declared, over a year ago:

"Of course we will provide useful work for the needy unemployed; we prefer useful work to the pauperism of the dole."

We must measure the amount of relief by the amount of the need of the unemployed. We cannot fit the stomachs of the jobless to an arbitrary appropriation.

is why The POST urges President Roosevelt to double the pending \$250,000,000 WPA funds. That is why we pray Mr. Roosevelt make a firm stand, announce to the world that if further increases are necessary they will be forthcoming—and that the Federal Government intends to KEEP ITS PROMISE TO THE JOBLESS.

That done, confidence of the buying public can be restored. It will not be necessary to put the jobless on WPA, or even half of them. As soon as there is a real upsurge in Federal employment, the increased purchasing power will bring with it an upsurge in private industry—and, with that, an upsurge in private employment.

Above all, we hope the President will make this a PERMANENT POLICY. We hope he will give us a new emancipation proclamation in which the Government will stand committed to keeping our people at work, not only this year but as long as the need exists.

LINCOLN IS QUOTED ON CAPITAL-LABOR

Historian Recalls Advice for
Houseless to Build Own
Homes, Not Raze Others

WORKERS' RIGHTS FIRST

But Emancipator in a Speech
Here in 1864 Asked Respect
for Property as Fruit of Toil

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Pointing to what he described as the "relatively little known" aspects of Lincoln's capital-labor philosophy, William T. Hutchinson, associate professor of American history at the university, projected the Emancipator as a leader with "solid views" on the relationships between employers and employees.

"Lincoln's keen understanding of underlying economic principles and the profound regard with which he was held by labor throughout the world are relatively little known," the historian said.

"In many respects this phase of his statesmanship was most important, and many of his precepts are accurately tuned to the economically troubled world today."

In support of his views, the professor cited Lincoln's statement of 1864 addressed to the workingmen of New York as epitomizing his capital-labor philosophy. At that time Lincoln said:

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"Lincoln certainly did not believe in the sanctity of capital tempered only by a certain reserved minimum of labor rights.

"He rather believed in the sanctity of labor rights with a measure of capitalism as their necessary limitation."

Lincoln Lauded For Labor Views

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Abraham Lincoln Upheld Rights Of Laboring Men

If you refer to the newspapers of Lincoln's time, both in America and England, you will find he was the most maligned man of his time. Few newspapers had anything good to say about him. Hideous cartoons were made of him. And he was finally assassinated. This is often the end of a great humanitarian. Today in nearly all countries of the globe monuments have been erected in honor of this great Emancipator. The lowly in all lands look to such men for hope. Nearly all look up to him, because he is universally revered, but know little of his philosophy of life and sayings.

The following are a few of his sayings:

"I see in the future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed.

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of

labor, and could not have existed if labor had not first existed.

"Labor is the superior of capital and deserves higher consideration. And inasmuch as most things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. **This is wrong and should not continue.**

"To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any government. It seems strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

"When it comes to a question between a man and a dollar, I am on the side of the man every time.

"The habits of our whole species, fall into three great classes: useful labor, useless labor and idleness. Of course, the first only is meritorious and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy is, as far as possible, to drive useless labor and idleness out of existence.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty."

The Atlantic, May 7, 1947

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'Work Is the Main Thing'

By LEWIS E. LEHRMAN

Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday we celebrate on Sunday, is generally remembered for winning the Civil War and freeing the slaves. He should be. But the great lost truth about our 16th president is that during most of his political career he focused, not on slavery, but on a policy for economic growth and equal opportunity for the new nation. As Lincoln explained over and over, slavery was an involuntary economic exchange of labor, based on coercion, and, therefore, it was theft. Slavery, in short, was the antithesis of free labor, and thus Lincoln opposed it on moral and economic principle.

One of the hidden strengths of Lincoln's political philosophy was its grounding in a thorough grasp of economic theory and policy. That Mr. Lincoln had a coherent economic philosophy is one of the most obvious facts that emerges from Roy Basler's definitive 11-volume edition of the 16th president's original writings, speeches and state papers. Anyone who doubts this should read Gabor Boritt's pathbreaking book on "Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream."

Though Jeffersonian populist in sentiment, Mr. Lincoln's economics were, paradoxically, Hamiltonian in policy. We can see this when, on his way to Washington in early 1861, he declared in Philadelphia, "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence." This idea he later vindicated at Gettysburg in 1863 by upholding "a new birth of freedom" in an America "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." One year later he explained to Ohio soldiers visiting the White House that the Civil War itself was a struggle to create "an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life. . . ."

Equality of Opportunity

Lincoln's equality was equality of opportunity. He denied explicitly that American equality was equality of result. In 1857 at Springfield, he said: "I think the authors [of the Declaration] intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness, in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

He also opposed direct federal taxation, except by necessity of war, because, as he said, "the land must be literally covered with assessors and collectors, going forth like swarms of locusts, devouring every blade of grass. . . ." Like Alexander Hamilton, he preferred a tariff because, Lincoln suggested, customs collectors on the coast would do less harm to the people than tax collectors robbing their neighborhoods.

He believed that government should be pro-labor by being pro-business; thus for 20 years, he advocated government help in creating canals, railroads, banks, turnpikes and other public institutions needed to integrate a free national market, to increase opportunity and social mobility,

and to make the American economy more productive. As the economic historian Bray Hammond has noted, Lincoln was also a sophisticated student of banking and monetary policy, arguing throughout his political career that "no duty is more imperative on government, than the duty it owes the people of furnishing them a sound and uniform currency."

His economic philosophy, above all, was based upon "his patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people." He was an authentic populist. But he saw no necessary conflict between labor and capital, believing them to be cooperative in nature. Only cooperation could, in a society of free labor, produce economic growth and increasing opportunity for all. Lincoln argued that capital was, itself, the result of the free labor of mind and muscle. People were the most important resource, not

Lincoln was an authentic populist. But he saw no necessary conflict between labor and capital, believing them to be cooperative in nature.

wealth. In fact this idea was so important that President Lincoln argued in his first annual message of 1861 that "labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights."

He went even further and, once and for all, defined the essence of the American dream: "There is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. . . . The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account for awhile, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system, which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and . . . energy, and progress, and improvement of conditions to all."

Born poor, Mr. Lincoln was probably the greatest of truly self-made men, believing that "work, work, work is the main thing." His economic policy was designed not only "to clear the path for all," but to spell out incentives to encourage entrepreneurs to create new products, new wealth, and new jobs. He himself had applied for and obtained a patent, declaring in 1859 the patent and copyright protection of intellectual property to be one of the greatest incentives to innovation of Western civilization.

While today many Americans would dispute some of Mr. Lincoln's economic policies, it is manifestly true that his proposition—based on the right of every American to rise on his or her merits—defined the colorblind American dream of Martin Luther King. "I want every man to have the chance," Lincoln announced in New Haven in March 1860. "And I believe a black man is entitled to it . . . when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for him-

self afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him! That is the true system."

This was Lincoln's American system, where government fosters growth, where equal opportunity leads to social mobility, where intelligence and labor lead to savings and entrepreneurship. The black abolitionist Frederick Douglass pronounced a fitting tribute when he said of President Lincoln that he was "the first great man that I talked with in the United States freely, who in no single instance reminded me of the difference of color." He attributed Lincoln's open attitude to the fact that he and Lincoln were both, in Douglass's phrase, "self-made men."

Lincoln's economic legacy has had a powerful effect on world history. Without our 16th president there would have been separate slave states and free states; and thus no integrated North American economy in which emerged the most powerful, free-market, commercial civilization the world has ever known. Without pre-eminent American industrial power—which Lincoln self-consciously advocated—the means would not have been available to contain Imperial Germany in 1917 as it reached for European hegemony. Neither would there have been a national power strong enough to destroy its global successor, Hitler's Nazi Reich in 1945, nor to crush the aggressions of Imperial Japan. And, in the end, there would have been no world power to oppose and overcome the Soviet Communist empire during the second half of our century. World conquest—based on the invidious distinctions of race and class, the goal of the malignant world powers of our era—was prevented by the force and leadership of a single country, the perpetual union of the American states.

The Enigma

Hovering over the whole of this history, there lingers still the enigma of the private man and the shadow of his personality. We scrutinize Lincoln; but we see him through a glass darkly. We mine his papers, sap the memoirs left by those who knew him, plumb his personal relationships. But he escapes us.

Surely we know about his humble parents, his lack of formal education, his discreet but towering ambition. But we wonder that, unlike the Adamases, the Roosevelts, the Kennedys, he left no descendants to carry on his legacy of great deeds. It is as if, like a luminous comet, he thrust himself in front of our eyes, the eyes of the world—for a brief moment—then to dissolve into the vasty deep of the cosmos from which he came.

This archetypal American, born poor of the South in Kentucky, elected of the North from Illinois—his professional achievement the very epitome of the American dream—this man Lincoln is the elusive inspiration we should be looking for as we commemorate his birth, 186 years ago, on Feb. 12, 1809.

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Mr. Lehrman is chairman of Lehrman Bell Mueller Cannon.



Abraham Lincoln

Mr. Lincoln then took up the Massachusetts shoemakers' strike, treating it in a humorous and philosophical manner, and exposing to ridicule the foolish pretense of Senator Douglas--that the strike arose from "this unfortunate sectional warfare." Mr. Lincoln thanked God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workman may stop. He didn't pretend to be familiar with the subject of the shoe strike--probably knew as little about it as Senator Douglas himself. Shall we stop making war upon the South? We never have made war upon them. If any one has he had better go and hang himself and save Virginia the trouble. If you give up your convictions and call slavery right, as they do, you let slavery in upon you--instead of white laborers who can strike, you'll soon have black laborers who can't strike.

--Lincoln "Complete Works", vol.1

TUNE IN STATION W. H. E. W.
EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT 7:45

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

OUTLAWING STRIKES!



**TOTAL
WAR
ON
LABOR**

"The mission of unionism is not to act as a rearguard to an army defeated, seasoned in defeat, habituated to defeat, and fit only for defeat: The mission of unionism is to organize and drill the working class for final victory—to 'take and hold' the machinery of production which means the administration of the country."—Daniel De Leon.

Lincoln on Right To Strike.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "Thank God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workman may stop."

If Lincoln were to sit in at some of the debates of the current session of Congress, he would soon discover that modern employers have a different idea about strikes and the workers' rights. Here are some of the things he would have heard:

A Congressman advocating "an amendment to the conscription law which will conscript these men [strikers] in the factories....." (Rep. Hoffman of Michigan.)

Another Congressman expressing the earnest desire "to see these strikers in hell with their backs broken...." (Rep. Ford of California.)

A third Congressman declaring proudly that he "would not hesitate one split second to send them [striking workmen] to the electric chair." (Rep. Sumners of Texas.)

Then if Lincoln were to stroll into the cloakroom and pick up some of the plutocratic newspapers he would read editorials applauding these utterances and contributing suggestions of their own, such as this one from the New York *Herald Tribune*:

"Why not make it [striking] mutiny or treason on the part of the defense worker?"

From one end of the country to the other, Lincoln would hear the economic overlords and their hirelings howl for repressive anti-strike legislation. Being pretty familiar with slave-owner psychology, it wouldn't take him long to learn the reason why.

Do you know why, fellow work-

ers? Is it because "defense" production is allegedly being delayed? But if that were true, where is the high dudgeon over the employers' refusal to expand production capacity until the government comes across with "the economic coefficient of patriotism"—i.e., contracts yielding monstrous profits without entailing the slightest risk to the capitalist contractor? Where is the indignation over delay caused by *preventable* industrial accidents and sickness among the useful workers? In 1940, according to the Department of Labor, 200,000,000 man-hours were lost through accidents alone as compared to 52,000,000 man-hours lost through strikes.

Fact is the employing class just pretends that it is the nation's "defense" they are worried about. This gives them the pretext to cast slurs upon the workers and arouse patriotic hysteria against them. In reality they have appraised the significance of strikes even better than the strikers themselves. *They* know, if the workers do not, that strikes are manifestations of a conflict of interests between the workers, who perform all useful labor, and the owners of industry who use their capital just as the highwayman uses his gun, viz., to extract tribute from their victims.

Tiger of Capitalism.

The workers do not understand this. They have not yet learned that just as "the tiger will defend the tips of his mustache with the same ferocity that he will defend his very heart," so will "the tiger of capitalism protect its superfluities with the same ferocity that it will protect its very existence." Workers are angry and bewildered when employers send troops and police to gas, club and shoot them when they are

driven by cumulative grievances to rebel. They are concentrated on their immediate objective, a few pennies more per day or a vacation with pay (although their faker leaders are usually satisfied with "collective bargaining" and a labor-shackling contract). The workers do not yet recognize their actions as part of a titanic struggle — a struggle which must end either in their complete emancipation from wage slavery under an Industrial Republic of Free and Affluent Labor, or in their complete subjugation under a fascist-industrial feudal regime.

Here is the secret of the savage anger of the employing class: It is not merely the strikes. It is the rebellious spirit behind the strikes. The strike itself is an outmoded weapon. The employers can break a strike. They can order their press and radio to hurl scurrilous abuse at the strikers. They can use violence with impunity. (Who ever heard of an employer being convicted for murder because he ordered hoodlums to fire upon workers?) Then there are always their faithful "labor lieutenants," the labor fakers, who keep the workers hopelessly divided and almost invariably betray them. But more potent than any of these is the weapon the strike turns against the workers themselves—*hunger!*

As a railroad executive once coolly explained to a reporter who was sent to cover a strike: "It is like this. If you lay a silver dollar on the shelf for three months, at the end of the time you still have a good silver dollar. Lay a [working] man on the shelf for three months and you have a corpse."

Do you now understand why politicians have seen to it that workers on strike and workers who refuse to cross their picket lines are made ineligible for unemployment compen-

sation?

The Socialist Labor Party holds that "the attitude of workingmen engaged in a bona fide strike is an inspiring one. *It is an earnest that slavery will not prevail.*" Employers are justified in fearing the spirit behind the strike because once that spirit is freed of the obstructions and limitations put upon it by the faker-led unions with their fatuous theory of "brotherhood between capital and labor," the days of war-breeding, poverty-ridden capitalism will be numbered.

No Job Security.

The time has come when the American workers must face the facts. They must abandon the hopeless dream of "job security" within the system of capitalism. In the future, as in the past, the machine will take its toll of jobs so long as it is privately owned.

And although the war temporarily reduces the number of jobless, every one who gives serious thought to the question knows that when this war ends, unemployment will rise to new record heights. Moreover, the workers must realize that instead of protecting them, the labor contract places them at the mercy of the labor skate. The employer can, and does, violate the so-called "sacred" contract in a thousand covert ways; it is "binding" only upon the workers. The history of the labor contract is the history of organized scabherding, of one craft or one plant union (in the case of the C.I.O.) scabbing on another because, in faker parlance, "we cannot violate our 'sacred' contract."

Workers, wake up! Congressmen may call it "democracy" to conscript men for the army or for industry. They may say it is "democratic" to force labor to "cool off." They may

sing hosannas to "our way of life" when they pass laws (as Texas did recently) making it a penitentiary offense to interfere *in any way* with strikebreakers. BUT NO MATTER WHAT YOU CALL IT, IT'S FASCISM!

Knowledge Is Power!

What are you going to do about it? Let the employing class and their politicians and labor lieutenants lead us unresisting into totalitarianism? We think not. It is not spirit that the American workers lack, nor intelligence. *It is knowledge!* Knowledge concerning their class interests. Knowledge concerning their historic goal. Knowledge concerning the form and tactics of an organization whereby they make the Bill of Rights secure, and augment it with economic freedom.

The right to abolish the present social system is embodied in the amendment clause of the Constitution. In the language of Abraham Lincoln, "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." The Socialist

Labor Party summons the American working class to make use of its revolutionary right, unite politically to demand the unconditional surrender of capitalism, and mobilize industrially into a mighty Socialist Industrial Union to enforce the decision of the majority.

Unlike existing unions, which uphold the profit system, and serve as bulwarks of capitalism, Socialist Industrial Unionism unites the working class to take over the industries of the land, lock out the usurping capitalist class and continue production for the benefit of society. Its goal is the Industrial Republic of Labor under which production for use will be planned, and directed by a National Industrial Union Congress made up of representatives from each industry, elected democratically by the workers.

Today it is not only the right to strike, for which Abraham Lincoln gave thanks, that is imperiled. All the liberties wrested from tyranny in centuries of struggle are in dire danger. If they are to be preserved and augmented with new liberties and handed on to others who follow us, no time is to be lost!

Instead of the feeble and unattainable goal of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" *under capitalism*, the workers should demand—

**THE WORKSHOPS TO THE WORKERS,
THE PRODUCT TO THE PRODUCERS,
AND ALL POWER TO THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNION.**

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, 61 Cliff St., New York, N.Y.

I am interested in Socialism. Without obligation, please send me information and free literature.

Name

Address^a

(O.S.) (May be pasted on back of postcard.)

EXCERPTS
from

Abraham Lincoln's Reply

to a Committee From the Workingmen's Association of
New York, March 21, 1864

¶ *Labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed.*

¶ *Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor producing mutual benefits.*

¶ *Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise.*

¶ *Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.*

LINCOLN MESSAGE TO SPUR WPA MEN

Park Bureau Placards Quote
Attack by Him on Useless
Labor and Idleness.

TO BE POSTED AT ALL JOBS

It Is Interpreted as Warning to
Workers—Moses's Only Com-
ment Is 'It Speaks for Itself.'

The Park Department will post this morning in its borough offices and on all WPA construction projects "a message to park workers" from Abraham Lincoln.

The "message," written by Lincoln in 1847, reads as follows:

"The habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor and idleness. Of these, the first only is meritorious and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy for this is to, so far as possible, drive useless labor and idleness out of existence."

This quotation is printed on a large cardboard poster beneath a pen and ink portrait of Lincoln and the words, "a message to park workers from a great American." At the bottom of the poster is a facsimile signature of Lincoln's and the date, 1847, while at the top is the legend, "City of New York, Department of Parks." The portrait itself is framed in a wreath at the base of which is a sycamore leaf, emblem of the department.

The message was interpreted as a warning to WPA laborers to work harder or take the consequences, although park officials declined to discuss it and referred all questions to Park Commissioner Moses.

Asked if it signified that he was dissatisfied with the performance of the men assigned to him, Mr. Moses would only say: "It speaks for itself."

It was recalled that a similar placard was posted on park projects several months ago exhorting workers to more strenuous efforts. It, however, was signed by Commissioner Moses.

One thousand copies of the new placard will be posted throughout the city today.

The quotation is taken from some fragments of a discussion of the protective tariff written by Lincoln between his election to Congress in 1846 and his taking his seat in December, 1847.

CITY OF NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF PARKS



A MESSAGE TO PARK WORKERS
FROM A GREAT AMERICAN—

"THE HABITS OF OUR WHOLE SPECIES
FALL INTO THREE GREAT CLASSES —
USEFUL LABOR, USELESS LABOR AND
IDLENESS. OF THESE THE FIRST ONLY
IS MERITORIOUS, AND TO IT ALL THE
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LARGE PORTION OF ITS JUST RIGHTS.
THE ONLY REMEDY FOR THIS IS TO,
SO FAR AS POSSIBLE, DRIVE USELESS
LABOR AND IDLENESS OUT OF
EXISTENCE."

A. Lincoln
1847

A LINCOLN WARNING FOR PARK WORKERS.

Poster quoting the Emancipator on shirkers, which has been placed in all the borough and construction offices of the department.

GOMPERS AND LINCOLN

A New York Sun Editorial

In his statement denouncing the process of the federal courts the president of the American Federation of Labor had the effrontery to call Abraham Lincoln to the witness stand in support of the defiance of law. Mr. Gompers said:

"It is still more strange that a nation which may be justly proud of its Abraham Lincoln should now reverse the application of the great truth he enunciated when he said that as between capital and labor labor should receive first and foremost consideration."

Mr. Gompers does not give the reference that would enable us to ascertain by context the exact sense in which Lincoln declared that as between labor and capital labor should receive first and foremost consideration. There are dozens of conceivable senses in which Lincoln might have said that, and said it with entire truth, without warranting the construction which Mr. Gompers attempts to put on the remarks for the encouragement of strikers who under his leadership threaten to paralyze the industrial life of the nation.

But although without further and more specific indication from Mr. Gompers we cannot be sure what Lincoln meant by his remark about capital and labor, we may be mighty sure he did not mean that which Mr. Gompers wants the strikers to believe Lincoln did mean; namely, that his sympathy would be with the promoters and organizers and leaders whom the federal courts has enjoined. For Abraham Lincoln laid down the fundamentals of American patriotism and loyalty and obedience to law in an address he delivered in Springfield, Ill., a dozen years or more before Mr. Gompers was born in England; the speech from which we quoted for Mr. Gompers' benefit last Sunday this passage:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

That was the Americanism of Abraham Lincoln—the man of whom Samuel Gompers says the nation may be justly proud; the man whose name and fame Samuel Gompers offers to his deluded followers as an authority for the theory that in matters where labor is concerned laborers may rightfully become breakers of the law, may defy the courts, if need be, for their own interests, may even substitute his construction and interpretation of the laws of the land for the constructions and decisions of those laws' constitutional interpreters.

And in his next breath Samuel Gompers, having thus uttered to the miners this false certificate of license in the name of Abraham Lincoln, dares in the name of organized labor to threaten our nation with a wide and more edifying uprising in case the defiance of the courts by the leaders of the soft coal strikers is not tolerated by the American people:

"This injunction can only result in creating new and more disturbing issues which may not be confined solely to the miners."

Exactly what does Mr. Gompers mean with regard to his attempted super-government and superjudiciary within the American system, Abraham Lincoln's system? Exactly what he means is perhaps shown in this enlightening passage from his testimony on Saturday, October 4, 1914, before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives:

"We have organized our trade workers, I think it safe to say, to the number of 4,500,000. That includes the thousands in the American Federation of Labor and the thousands who belong to the railroad brotherhoods. There is a greater concept of moral responsibility than at any time in the history of our

existence, and it will continue to grow if we are given the right to function or, rather, if the right to function is not taken away from us."

"I know that some men since I appeared before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, of which Senator Cummins is chairman, where I expressed the views in a way that I have expressed here, said that I declared that I would not obey any law that was enacted if I opposed it. Of course how silly that is I do not think it necessary for me to say, and how unsound and improper, but I do say that if I was employed at any trade or occupation with my fellows and the Congress of the United States should enact a law forbidding me and my associates from quitting work and making it an offense punishable by fine and imprisonment I should quit work and stand on my rights as a free man, as a citizen, obedient to the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States providing against involuntary servitude."

"Mr. Webster—Mr. Gompers, would that be upon the theory that you would challenge the constitutionality of the law?"

"Mr. Gompers—Yes, sir."

"Mr. Webster—Or would it be, whether it was constitutional or not, that you would not obey it?"

"Mr. Gompers—There can be no question about the constitutionality. The Constitution provides against involuntary servitude, and if I were compelled to work against my will that would be involuntary servitude, and no amount of legal enactment could take away that broader declaration of the Constitution of the United States."

"Mr. Webster—I was asking whether you would defy this law if it were held to be constitutional."

"Mr. Gompers—I would insist if the court would so far trespass upon the fundamental character of that constitutional provision—I should refuse to work."

Mr. Webster—Even though it were declared by the constituted authorities of the government to be a constitutional law you would defy it?

"Mr. Gompers—it would not be the first time that the people have reversed the courts of the country."

"Mr. Webster—Well, then, Mr. Gompers, you may answer this question for me, yes or no: The Congress of the United States places upon the statute book a law relating to compulsory arbitration and the right of labor to strike which in your judgment trenches upon the constitutional right of American freemen in that behalf, and that law is brought on for a test in the courts as to its constitutionality and it finally reaches the Supreme Court of the United States, and that tribunal declares that the law is constitutional, that the limitations placed upon the right to strike are valid, and that the machinery arranged for the arbitration of strikes is legal and constitutional; would you, as the president of the American Federation of Labor, advise and counsel obedience to the law or not?"

"Mr. Gompers—I would, so far as the conduct of the workers was concerned, remain silent, and I should make an appeal to the people of the country."

"Mr. Webster—That is all, Mr. Chairman."

We hope that all Americans who have read the foregoing remarks of Abraham Lincoln on the patriotic duty of obedience to law will study every word of Mr. Gompers' declaration which he has put in contrast with Lincoln's splendid utterance. He, Gompers, will counsel his followers to obey the laws only in case the Supreme Court of the United States concurs with Gompers on the question of constitutionality. He will "function" according to his own judgment, not according to the judgment of the legislature and the courts. He will go to the limit to establish within our government of law a supergovernment and a superjudiciary consisting of the labor organization over which he presides. What essential difference, either as to spirit or as to results, is there between this impudently declared defiance of law and the cruder sentence preached by Foster and his red kind?

Is it going to be Abraham, Lincoln or Samuel Gompers?

